The Mughal State and tribes in seventeenth century Sind

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There were many tribes in the Mughal Empire who differed from each other in their social and economic organisation. Modern historians have generally concentrated on tribes with a defined territory and with a chief who enjoyed supreme power. Some historians have included the less centralised tribes in their studies without making a proper distinction between the two types. Here we describes the different types of tribes, keeping in view their distinguishing features. The Rajput tribes of Ajmer *suba* and other regions which we may call centralised chiefdoms are examples of the former type. Occupying specific territory under their respective monarchs, they exercised suzerainty over subordinate tribes, which rendered services in lieu of the revenue assigned to them.

Several tribes in the Mughal Empire, especially those in Sind, were less centralised. Normally behaving independently, they set up loose social confederations and organised themselves under a chief to fight against their common enemy.[1] These tribes were pastoral and nomadic, semi-sedentary or sedentary and differed in their traits from the monarchical tribes. There was protracted conflict between the Mughals and the tribes of Sind. Many of these tribes could be kept under control only by force and this situation continued even during British rule.[2] But not all tribes in Sind were nomadic and seditious, nor were they controlled only by force; many

[1] F. Barth, 'Nomadism in the Mountain and Plateau Areas of South West Asia', *The Problems of the Arid Zone: Proceedings of the Paris Symposium*, 1962, pp. 301–2; Scrievener, tells us how a Kalmati Baluchi chief, after confrontation with the imperial *bakhshi*, collaborated with another Baluchi chief and with the support of several hundred men pillaged the *raiyat* and cattle around the region of Thatta. The imperial authorities were powerless to control them. For Scrievener, see A. Duarte, *A History of British Relations with Sind: 1613–1843*, Karachi, 1976, p. 31.

[2] *Home Miscellaneous Series*, No. 2556, 1842, from the Political Agent, J. Outram, in Sind to Lieut. Jacob; No. 269, 1896, from Col. R. Phayre to Sir W.L. Merewether, Commissioner in Sind, Feb. 1869; *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, Bombay, New Series, no. 17, pt. I, 1855; 'Report on the Town and Port of Karachi' by Capt. S.V.W. Hart, Jan. 1840, preserved in the India Office Library, London; Postan, p. 135.

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nomadic tribes became partly or fully sedentary, and they were settled by peaceful means rather than by force.

Many anthropological studies show that even in Iran, Africa or Central Asia, the State, with a view to augmenting resources, strove to settle the nomadic tribes.[3] Our study is based on literary sources, primarily Yusuf Mirak's *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*[4] which throws light on the policy pursued by the Mughal authorities towards the turbulent tribes of Sind. Yusuf Mirak, who had first-hand knowledge of the tribes as well as of the region, has indicated in his valuable compendium the geographical distribution of the various tribes; narrated their activities; the causes of their conflict with the State and the measures adopted by the Mughal authorities to establish law and order.

Kinds of tribes and their activities in the light of the ecology of the region

A look at the Map, shows that there were many tribes spread over a large part of the *suba* of Sind. All the tribes whose names are found in the sources and the different branches of a tribe are shown separately in the Map. Thus this Map is more detailed than A.R. Khan's Map which shows only a few tribes in Sind and does not include even the tribes mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and the *Mazhar-i-Shahjani*.[5] The implication that these tribes did not exist towards the end of Emperor Akbar's reign appears curious.

We have shown the different branches of a tribe separately because these branches behaved independently and did not show any subordination to the original tribe. Furthermore, often one part of the tribe became sedentary while the others did not. Moreover, there is no clear evidence of the emanation of some sub-tribes. For example, it is a matter of dispute whether the Nahmardis branched off from the Baloch or the Sameja tribe.[6]

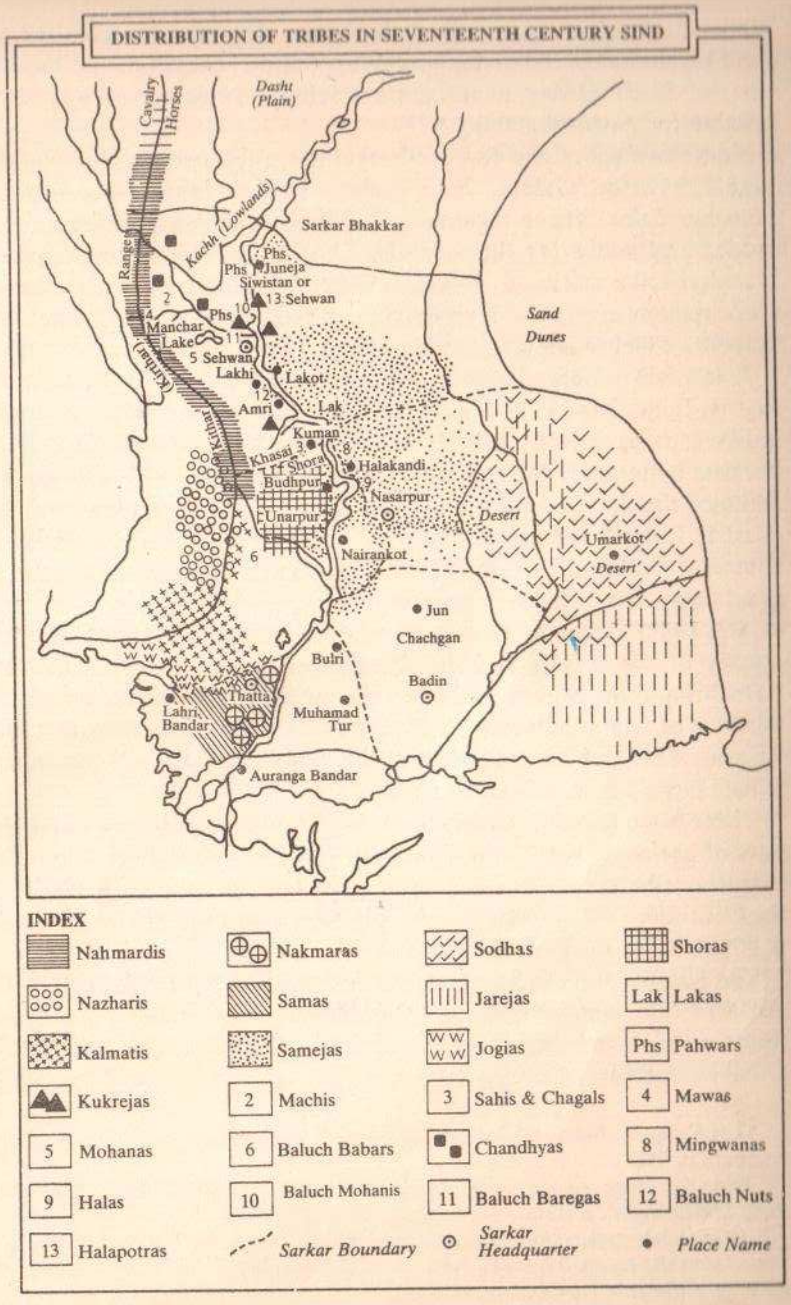
The majority of tribes were concentrated in the Doab region of the Indus and Nara rivers as well as in the adjacent hilly tracts of the Kirthar range.

[3] F. Barth, *op. cit.*; E. Sunderland, 'Pastoralism, Nomadism and the Social Anthropology of Iran', in *Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. W.B. Fisher, Cambridge, 1968; C. Wickham, 'Pastoralism and Underdevelopment in the Early Middle Ages', 'Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo', XXXI, Spoleto, 7–13 April 1983, Spoleto, 1985; M.B. Rowton, 'Autonomy and Nomadism in Western Asia', *Orientalia*, Vol. 42, Nova Series, 1973.

[4] Yusuf Mirak, *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1961.

[5] A.R. Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar*, Simla, 1977, p. 64.

[6] From Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Lucknow, 1893, one gets an impression that the Nahmardis branched off from the Baloch tribe, Vol. II, pp. 162–63; Yusuf Mirak says that they are from the Samejas, *Mazhar-i-Shajahani*, Vol. II, pp. 86–87; James Tod identified than as Noomrie, Loomrie, or Looka, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1957, Vol. II, p. 294.



While the Kirthar range with its limestone deposits was unfit for agricultural production,[7] the Indus and West Nara Doab were the most fertile parts of Sind.[8] Owing to the extreme climate, this region was also most suitable for pastoral activity.[9]

Numerous tribes are clustered together in the *parganas* of Baghbanan, Juneja,[10] Nirun, Gahan, Talti, Lakot, Lakhi, Amri, San, Kuman and Manchar Lake. These regions had enough agricultural and grazing land, fodder and water for the animals. The Mallah tribe caught fish in the Manchar Lake and lived around it.[11] The State did not have direct access to these regions and if there was confrontation, the tribals ran away to their hideouts which were inaccessible to the State authorities.

A few tribes were also seen around the Indus delta in the Lower Sind, that is, Lahri Bandar and Kakrala. The Indus delta is a savage wasteland unlike the upper delta of the Indus and Nara rivers and the Gangetic delta because it merges in the southwest into the great mud and salt wastes of the Rann of Kutch. Changes in the distributaries have been numerous and the coast is fringed with dead creeks. When high tides and the Indus floods coincide, the littoral is flooded for several miles. There are stretches of tall grass and a few cultivable patches.[12]

Alexander Hamilton throws interesting light on the tribes and the geography of the region of Lahri Bandar in 1699. According to him, the Baluchis and the Makranis robbed the merchants in the region, in spite of the four or five guns which were mounted on the large stone fort of Lahri Bandar. The marshy grounds and the rapid tides of the Indus made the tribals largely secure from the army.[13]

There were tribes in Umarkot in the Thar desert. However, the greater part of *sarkars* Thatta and Chachgan was free from their activities. The Mandra tribe seems to have been sedentary in *sarkar* Chachgan. Since these *sarkars* are situated in the plains it was difficult for the nomadic pastoral tribes to defy the State.

The Sumras and the Summas founded chiefdoms after the end of Tamim Ansari's rule sometime in the tenth century. The Summas succeeded the Sumras and established monarchy. It had some similarities with the Rajput tribal monarchies of the Ajmer *suba*. The chief was entitled Jam and from

[7] O.H.K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, London, 1954, p. 453.

[8] Ibid., p. 454.

[9] Ibid.; for other regions, see C. Wickham, 'Pastoralism and Underdevelopment in the Early Middle Ages', p. 434.

[10] Irfan Habib renders the name of the *pargana* as Chaneja, but it should be Juneja. It was named after the Juneja tribe, who were one of the branches of the Sameja tribe, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 1982, 5A.

[11] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 210.

[12] O.H.K. Spate, *India and Pakistan*, p. 454.

[13] Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, (1688–1723), ed. W. Foster, 2 Vols. London, 1930, p. 71.

the list of succeeding chiefs given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*,[14] it is obvious that either the son or the brother of the foregoing chief became the next chief. Distant relations do not seem to have been considered as legitimate heirs. Thus Jam Firoz was overthrown by his distant relative, Salahuddin, but the latter could not continue as the Jam and had to flee to Gujarat and Firoz was reinstated as the Jam.[15]

The Summa chief Jam Hala of Kakrala minted coins in his name.[16] The Summas continued to enjoy predominance in the delta region of Lahri Bandar till the middle of the seventeenth century, but after the Mughal occupation of Sind, the chiefs were presumably reduced to the status of primary *zamindars*. The Tarkhans became intermediaries between the Summas and the Mughal central authority.

According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Sodhas were spread over a vast tract of land in the Thar desert, stretching from *sarkar* Bhakkar to Nasarpur.[17] Many Sodha chiefs have been mentioned in the contemporary sources. In the Mughal chronicles their political status varied from Rana and Rai to *muqaddam*. The word *kalantaran* is also used for a certain Sodha chief signifying his large following.[18] However, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Sodhas of Umarkot had established tribal monarchy and they remained under the hegemony of the Arghun and Tarkhan rulers of Sind. The rulers of Sind enjoyed the right to accord succession to the chiefs of Umarkot.[19] In fact, the status of the Sodhas of Umarkot rose after the birth of emperor Akbar in Umarkot, though they became *mansabdars* only in the reign of Shahjahan. During Shahjahan's rebellion of 1626 against Jahangir, the Sodha chief Rana Jodha helped Shahjahan. Consequently, when Shahjahan assumed power he assigned Rana Jodha a *mansab* of 800/300.[20] A group of Sodhas, however, remained turbulent and continued to harass the peasants of *sarkar* Chachgan which was more fertile than *sarkar* Nasarpur.[21] Now one can perceive the reasons why the Sodhas, scattered as they were in many small groups in the Thar desert, were unable to show their might to the Mughals in any significant manner till the rebellion of Shahjahan against his father.

The Map shows the Samejas to be scattered over a large part of Sind.

[14] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 168–69.

[15] Ibid.

[16] *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, Ms. Br. M., Or. 1685, pp. 219–20.

[17] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 166; Sujan Rai Bhandari has wrongly identified the Sodhas as Sisodias, *Khulasat ut Tawarikh*, ed. Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 60.

[18] Idraki, *Beglarnama*, Ms. B.M. (Br. 1814), ff. 38, 75; A.R. Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68. This word has also been used for the Kachwaha chief Raja Bhar Mal of Amber in the same sense, i.e., having a large following, Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Calcutta, 1873–87, Vol. II, p. 156.

[19] *Beglarnama*, f. 245.

[20] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama*, ed. Maulvi Kabir ud din and Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind., Vol. I, Calcutta, 1867–68, p. 315.

[21] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 116, 118, 119.

They were apparently concentrated around the Indus river, and were also found in the Indus delta. They were heavily concentrated in the *sarkars* of Nasarpur and Sehwan.[22] The Samejas were divided into many branches and sub-branches.[23] Certain branches of the Samejas, namely Sameja Teeba of *pargana* Baghbanan and Sameja Dils of *parganas* Samwati and Shal, were sedentary (*raiyati*). Similarly, sub-branches of the Sameja Unars, namely, the Sanrya and the Firozja were *sarkashi* (seditious) and semi-sedentary.[24] Other semi-sedentary branches of the Samejas were the Unars, Teeba, Dil, Mingwana and Dahiri (a sub-branch of the Unars).[25] These were spread over different regions, as the Map shows. Even the members of the same branch were scattered over different parts; for example, the Unars were in the *sarkars* of Nasarpur and Sehwan. Similarly, the Sameja Dils were in the *sarkars* of Nasarpur and Chakarhala. The Sameja Unars, including women and children, numbered 20,000. Their military strength was estimated at 5,000 to 6,000 *sawars* (troopers) and 1,500 foot soldiers. The military strength of the Sameja Sanriya, another branch in *pargana* Lakot, consisted of 5,000 soldiers: out of these, 1,000 were cavalrymen and 4,000 were foot soldiers. They had the military potential to fight with the armed forces of the State. Among the different branches, the Sameja Dils were the most ferocious. Yusuf Mirak compares the Samejas with the dog's tail which never remains straight. He says that the Samejas, even after being given concessions a thousand times, continued their seditious activities.[26] It appears that the seditious section of the Samejas has tempted A.R. Khan to brand the entire tribe as semi-independent.[27]

Similarly, the Baloch tribe had many sub-branches: in the *parganas* of Bobkan and Lakhi (*sarkar* Sehwan), the Baloch Nohani were sedentary while the Baloch Nut were semi-sedentary. The Baloch Chandyas, who were scattered around the *pargana* Baghbanan, Nirun, Gahan and Sehwan of *sarkar* Sehwan and *pargana* Nirunkot of *sarkar* Nasarpur, were also semi-sedentary. The main occupations of the Baloch Chandyas of *pargana* Baghbanan were stealing and *hurr-firoshi*,[28] and they looted property and cattle.[29]

[22] According to A.R. Khan, the Samejas were only in the *sarkar* of Bhakkar and not in the *suba* of Thatta. For details, see his map and description, pp. 64–67.

[23] For the branches and sub-branches, see *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 83–84.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., pp. 36, 37–38, 84, 169.

[27] A.R. Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal Empire During the Reign of Akbar*, pp. 66–67.

[28] I have not found the meaning of the joint word *hurr-firoshi*, but separately *hurr* means a freed man, a young pigeon, a fawn, a generous horse, a falcon, a hawk and a young deer; and *firoshi* means to sell. Thus I infer that they caught the free men, pigeons, falcons, fawns, hawk etc., to sell. See F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian English Dictionary*, New Delhi, 1973, p. 414; *Lughat-i-Hira* by Munshi Jhamal Lal, edited by a Board of Three Scholars, 1966, p. 363.

[29] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 87.

The Nahmardi, Kalmati, Nazhari, Bareja and Babar were pastoral nomadic tribes. The Nahmardis were concentrated in the long stretch of the Kirthar range.[30] According to Yusuf Mirak, Nahmardis settled wherever they found grazing fields. When one grazing place was exhausted, they migrated to another.[31] They did not take to agriculture, but indulged in stealing and plundering. This is a typical definition of pastoral nomadism.[32] They bred camels, horses, sheep, goats and cattle and would come down from the hills to the *parganas* of *sarkars* Sehwan and Chakarhala to sell their camels, sheep, horses, goats, blankets and *shatranji*,[33] and to buy grain, clothes and weapons. Even merchants used to go up to the hills to sell and buy goods.[34] The Nahmardis' visit to the plains often resulted in conflict with the settled peasantry,[35] but the State contracted an agreement with them prohibiting assault. In return, their caravans were allowed to visit the markets and *faslana peshkash*[36] was realised in the form of camels and sheep. The significance of the agreement lies in the recognition of state supremacy by a nomadic tribe.[37]

Nahmardis had a military strength of 300 cavalrymen and 7,000 foot soldiers.[38] Khattar Mal, a Nahmardi leader was forced to submit to the Mughal forces during Aurangzeb's reign.[39] Some Nahmardi chiefs were granted *inam* land by the Mughal authorities in *sarkars* Chakarhala and Thatta as an incentive to settle down.[40] This seemed to have worked, and they gradually established their hegemony in the region. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some of the Nahmardi chiefs controlled the trade

[30] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 165–66; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 87–88.

[31] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 140.

[32] F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Tr. S. Reynolds, London, 1972, Vol. I, p. 85.

[33] A kind of carpet used by a chess player. See F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian English Dictionary*, p. 745.

[34] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 239.

[35] F. Braudel places these types of tribes under the category of 'Inverse Transhumance', in which the flock and shepherds came down from the highlands; lowland served only for marketing purposes, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, p. 85.

[36] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 111, 124. *Faslana* is related to the harvest or the crop, a fee or perquisite derived from it. H.H. Wilson, *Glossary of the Judicial and Revenue Terms, & c., of British India*, Delhi, 1968, p. 158.

[37] The Al-Hira tribes are divided into three categories. One of the categories was formed by the tribes which concluded pacts with the rulers of Al-Hira. See M.J. Kister, 'Al-Hira', cited by Talat Asad, 'The Beduin As a Military Force: Notes on some Aspects of Power Relations between Nomads and Sedentaries in Historical Perspective', Cynthia Nelson ed., *The Desert and the Sown: Nomadism in the Wider Society*, University of California Press, 1973, p. 62.

[38] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 165–66; Yusuf Mirak estimates them at 6,000. Out of these 1,500 were *sawars* and 4,500 were *pyadas*, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–88.

[39] *Ruqa'at-i-Alamgiri*, ed. Najib Ashraf, Azamgarh, pp. 2–3.

[40] *Mazhar-i-Shahajahani*, Vol. II, p. 88.

routes passing from Sehwan to Karachi and from Karachi to Kotri. They began to realise a cess known as *mith* for ensuring safe passage of traders with their merchandise.[41]

The Kalmatis who lived around the Lakhi range had a militia of 20,000 cavalry.[42] The Nazhari tribe were known to possess 1,000 foot soldiers. The nomadic pastoral tribes of Baloch Bareja and Baloch Babar were located around *pargana* Bubakan and the eastern hill tracts of *sarkar* Chakarhala respectively.[43] Abul Fazl mentions 4,000 Balochis in the Karah hill range.[44] The eastern hill ranges of Sind were dominated by various Baloch tribes, but while the tribes in the hill regions were nomadic pastoral, other branches of the Baloch tribe such as the Nohani, Nut and Chandyas which migrated to the marginal fertile land around *parganas* Bubakan and Lakhi became sedentary and semi-sedentary. The Chandyas who were scattered over various fertile regions may be classified as semi-sedentary.

Pahwars who had earlier been pastoral nomads later became completely sedentary. They were scattered over various regions of *sarkar* Bhakkar and Sind and were good at camel-breeding. They used to supply camels on hire to the traders going to Multan, Qandhar and Jaisalmer.[45] In the *suba* of Thatta they were spread over *parganas* Baghbanan, Bubakan, Juneja of *sarkar* Sehwan, and seemed to have strongholds in *pargana* Gahan (Kahan), where they were known to have military strength of 700 to 800 *sawars* and 2,000 to 3,000 *pyadas* (foot soldiers). They were also described as *sahib-i-jamiat* (military chief). The Mughals appointed them *arbabs* or officials who collected revenue from the *raiyat* and enjoyed *zamindari* rights. They thus rose to the status of intermediary *zamindars*. It seems that the rights of the *arbabs* were hereditary in nature.[46] *Arbab* also became a title which was prefixed by the Pahwars to show their social position: one comes across names like Arbab Bahauddin, Arbab Ali and Arbab Daud in *pargana* Gahan. The Pahwars of *pargana* Gahan also claimed to be Qureshi.[47] Being completely sedentary, their interests clashed with the semi-sedentary tribes like the Sameja Unars and the Machis. The Pahwars

[41] The rate of *mith* was 3 *annas*, and one and half *annas* for the safety of the routes from Sehwan to Karachi and from Karachi to Kotri, see A.W. Hughes, *A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 2nd edn., London, 1876, pp. 305–7.

[42] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 165–66.

[43] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 40, 134.

[44] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 165–66.

[45] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 5, 6, 63, 68, 75, 150–51, 207, 233.

[46] A. Zahid Khan, 'The Arbabs of Sind', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. XXII, pt. 1, 1974, pp. 18–31.

[47] At some stage, the Pahwars were converted to Islam and the progeny was linked to Halimah, a nurse of the Prophet. A. Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sind*, 1980, p. 217: Qaum Bobak who were *raiyati* in *pargana* Bobkan claimed themselves to be Khalji. It suggests their conversion to Islam, *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 68.

and the Mughal officials had a common interest in subduing the seditious tribes. Consequently, they helped each other against the Sameja Unars and the Machis.[48] On the expulsion of the Machis from *pargana* Nairunqila, the Pahwars were encouraged to settle in the *pargana*.[49] The Mughals gave them certain concessions in land revenue. Some of the *arbabs* paid one-third land revenue, while others paid four-fifths.[50] However, this land revenue concession may be construed as a reward for countering the seditious tribes as well as due to their position as *arbabs*, for such concessions were given to other intermediary *zamindars* like *chaudhries, qanungos* and certain leading castes among the Rajputs in other parts of the Mughal empire.

The Shoras were a hill tribe[51] belonging to the region stretching from the river Indus to the hill regions in the West (Map). One can gauge their significance by the name *pargana* Khasai Shora after them.[52] They seem to have been semi-sedentary and turbulent with military potential. Yusuf Mirak contemptuously calls them 'bastards and mischievous'.[53] The Mughal authorities regarded a certain Ismail Shora as a notorious rebel. He is said to have carried with him a *naggara* (kettledrum) and *sakpal* (a flute), playing of which was one of the attributes of sovereignty and a privilege enjoyed by a Mughal sovereign and also bestowed by him as a mark of favour on nobles with 2,000 or more *sawars*.[54] However, Ismail operated from *sarkar* Chakarhala to the adjoining borders of *sarkar* Sehwan. None of the other militarised tribes nor the *raiyats* had the power to check him.

Another noted Shora chief was Daud Shora, who settled in *mauza* Khasai Shora. He also patronised the Mallahs (seamen) and the Hosras and encouraged them to indulge in theft. They pillaged travellers on the Indus as well as on land routes. When the imperial forces carried out military operations against them, they fled to the ravines. However, Hamid Shora and Daud Shora later submitted to the Mughals.[55]

The Lakas were a sedentary tribe known to have branched off from the Samas.[56] They were settled in the *parganas* of San, Khitta and Lakot and Lakhwat of *sarkar* Sehwan. Being sedentary and *raiyati* they became a prey

[48] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 66, 104–5.

[49] Ibid., pp. 65–66; *pargana* Nairunqila was given the new name of Akbarabad.

[50] Ibid., p. 207.

[51] Mir Ali Sher Qani Thattavi, *Tuhfat ul Kiram*, Hyderabad, 1971, p. 260.

[52] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, has written that Khasai Shora was also known as Gopang, p. 14.

[53] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 40.

[54] As a condition a grantee was expected not to use the kettledrum, etc., where the emperor was present; W. Irvine, 'The Army of the Indian Moghuls' (Reprint), New Delhi, 1962, p. 30.

[55] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 43, 53.

[56] E.H. Aitken says they had obscure Hindu origins, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, Karachi, 1907, p. 176.

to the seditious Sameja Unars. The latter even seized villages from the Lakas and assigned them to their own men. The Mughal *jagirdar* Shamsher Khan built a fort and established a *thana* to provide safety to the sedentary Lakas.[57]

Other sedentary and *raiyati* tribes were the Halapotras and the Kukrejas. The Halapotras were in *pargana* Khitta of *sarkar* Sehwan. The Hala tribe was settled around *pargana* Halakandi of *sarkar* Nasarpur, but one does not know about their relationship with the Halapotras. The Halapotras are known to have rendered services to the *jagirdars*. They clashed with the semi-sedentary and seditious Sameja Unars who used to hinder the supply of water from the *mauzas* of *pargana* Khitta where the Halapotras were settled. They were settled in the four *parganas* of Gahan, San, Juneja and Khitta.[58] There was a clash of interests between the sedentary Kukrejas and the semi-sedentary Samejas, and the former were backed by the Mughal authorities.[59]

Jogias are known to have settled in Sind from Makran,[60] concentrating in the region between Thatta and Karachi.[61] They seem to have been in a process of settlement till the middle of the seventeenth century. Initially they settled in Narela village of *sarkar* Chakarhala, but owing to confrontation with the imperial authorities, they fled to Khitta in *sarkar* Sehwan. Once they killed 50 *sawars*, but subsequently could not resist the authorities owing to the supply line being cut from their hideouts in the hill region.

It was a characteristic of the tribal organisation among the Jogias that when Haji, a son of Bijar Jogia, was insulted by Shah Muhammad, the *thanadar* of Narela, all the Jogias protested jointly.[62] It appears that Harun, a Jogia leader, continued to confront the Mughals till Aurangzeb's reign.[63] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Nathan Crow found the Jogias working in dingies.[64] The Jogias were also known to escort the caravans from Karachi to Thatta at the rate of two rupees per person.[65]

The Nakmaras predominantly operated in *sarkar* Thatta.[66] They seem to

[57] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 66, 72–75, 77, 78–80.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., pp. 80, 101–5; for Kukrejas, see Saiyyid Muhammad Masum Bhakkari, *Tarikh-i-Sind*, ed. U.M. Daudpota, Poona, 1938, p. 27.

[60] E.H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, pp. 174–75; A.W. Hughes, *A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, p. 304. These writers also hold that the Pahwars were a branch of Jogias, but without any basis.

[61] 'Crow's Account of Sind (1799–1800)', B.D. Mirchandani, *The Journal of Sind Historical Society*, Vol. I, pt. II, October 1934, p. 48.

[62] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 50.

[63] *Ruqaat-i-Alamgiri*, p. 203; Shaikh Abul Fateh Qabil Khan, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, Lahore, 1971, Vol. I, p. 26.

[64] 'Crow's Account of Sind', p. 48.

[65] *Report on the Town and Port of Karachi*, p. 214.

[66] Masumi, *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p. 259; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 34.

have been nomadic and indulged in theft. According to *Chachnama*, they robbed a boat carrying Muslim women pilgrims at Debal.[67] The Tarkhan rulers subdued the Nakmaras and employed them in their service. Thus by the time of Tarkhan rule, the Nakmaras seem to have become sedentary. When towards the end of Akbar's reign, Thatta was annexed, the Nakmara chief Rana Umar was raised to the status of a *mansabdar*. It appears that some time before 1634, Rana Umar rebelled, but he was forced to accept Mughal hegemony.[68] In 1635, a certain Nakmara chief, Rana Jeeah, is reported to have forced traders entering Thatta to seeking permission from him.[69]

The Machis seem to be semi-sedentary during the period of Muhammad bin Qasim,[70] but they were later subdued. According to Masumi, they were seditious in *pargana* Matila of *sarkar* Bhakkar and were compelled by Mirza Shah Hasan to submit. A Machi gave his daughter to a certain Baba Ahmad.[71] During Tarkhan rule the Machis settled in pargana *Nairunqila* of *sarkar* Sehwan, where they were reported to be reduced to submission.[72]

Mallahs who were destitute and primitive were settled in *pargana* Nairun. They did not have any grain to eat or clothes to wear. They lived in wooden huts near Manchar reservoir and ate whatever was found in the waters of the lake. The Mallahs were exploited by the Shoras and those living in village Taura (near Sehwan city), finally migrated to Sehwan owing to harassment.[73]

The Mawas were a sedentary tribe settled in *pargana* Gahan of *sarkar* Sehwan. They were recalcitrant and the Mughal forces launched a campaign in order to subdue them. They fled, deserting their villages in 1634. The Sai and Chagal tribes settled in *pargana* Bubkan, also initially resisted Mughal authority, but were subjugated by force.[74]

The Jarejas were scattered over a vast tract of the Thar desert from the *sarkars* of Bhakkar and Nasarpur to the contiguous Kutch region of Gujarat.[75] While they could not establish a chiefdom in the Sind region, they had chiefdoms in Kutch.[76] The Jarejas of Sind and Gujarat had links with one another. According to Masumi, Jam Firoz recruited the Jarejas

[67] *Chachnama*, quoted by Masumi, p. 259; *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 34.

[68] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, pp. 34, 35.

[69] A. Duarte, *A History of British Relations with Sind*, p. 15.

[70] Masumi, *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p. 27.

[71] Ibid., pp. 144, 145.

[72] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 65–66.

[73] Ibid., pp. 69–70, 165–66.

[74] Ibid., pp. 67, 68–69.

[75] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 119; Masumi also shows their presence in this region, *Tarikh-i-Sind*, pp. 49, 164; Ibn Batuta, *Rehla*, Vol. 3, pp. 318, 323, cited by Masumi, p. 280; *Khulasat ut Tawarikh*, p. 60.

[76] *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 119.

from Gujarat in his militia, and came to Sind to fight against Shah Beg Arghun.[77] Many Jarejas, after indulging in theft and robbery, used to seek asylum in the Kutch region[78] which was safer for them.

Causes of conflict between the State and the tribes

One of the main causes of conflict between the State and the tribes was the non-payment of land revenue. There are numerous instances of semi-sedentary or mixed pastoral tribes resisting the demand of the imperial authorities for revenues. For example, in *pargana* Nairun or Wahi, the Machis were reluctant to pay revenue. Bakhtyar Beg, the governor, subdued them and encouraged the Pahwars to settle there. The Sanriyas (a branch of the Samejas) in *pargana* Lakot who used to pillage the *raiyat*, paid land revenue only after the use of force by the governor. The Baloch Chandyas of *pargana* Baghbanan used to cultivate land and also owned cattle, but they, too, did not pay land revenue. The Sameja Bukyas of *pargana* Juneja and the Sameja Teebas of *pargana* Baghbanan also did not give any *malguzari*. They made trenches to defend themselves from the imperial forces. Yusuf Mirak writes that they were tamed by the governor, Abul Baqa (1628–32). Thus only if a *jagirdar* was militarily powerful, could he realise land revenue at the time of harvest.[79]

Another cause of conflict was the realisation of revenue in cash. The tribes wanted to pay revenue in kind, especially in the form of animals. Ahmad Beg, the *subadar*, enforced *zabti* in *mauza* Akbarabad of *pargana* Sehwan against the prevailing system, that is, *ghallabakhshi*. Even the sedentary tribes like the Pahwars resisted and many Pahwar *arbabs* fled from the *mauza* and looted the *mauzas* of *parganas* Bobkan and Gahan.[80] In Sehwan, when the Sameja Unars were forced by Nuruddin *karori* to pay the land revenue, they inflated the prices of horses, camels and cattle. The officials, therefore, did not accept the revenue and tried to realise it by force, whereupon the Sameja Unars fled to the desert of Jaisalmer.[81] The Baloch Barejas of the hills of *pargana* Bobkan used to pay *faslana* in kind. They, too, had conflicts with the State regarding full payment of revenue. After they were attacked and many men and boys taken prisoner, they were forced to pay the revenue in full. Failing to realise the land revenue, the *jagirdars* farmed out their land revenue rights (*ijaredari*) which further aggravated the situation.[82]

[77] Masumi, *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p. 27.
[78] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 65–66.
[79] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 65–66, 85, 86–87, 117, 123–24, 203.
[80] Ibid., pp. 155–56, 160, 162.
[81] Ibid., pp. 105–6. This state of affairs existed in Iran also. When the government harassed the settled villagers, the latter fled and began to lead a nomadic life. E. Sunderland, 'Pastoralism, Nomadism and the Social Anthropology of Iran', p. 640.
[82] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 134–35, 210, 232.

The tribes harassed the settled *raiyat* by abducting their women and children. The Lakas, who were inhabitants of *pargana* San, trequently clashed with the Nahmardis and the Chandyas. The Sameja Unars indulged in plundering, killing and capturing the children from the other side. They did not spare the venerated Saiyids of *mauzas* Amri and Thatti Wali Muhammad. Once when the Nahmardis pillaged *mauza* Kahi of *pargana* Sehwan, they killed the men, mutilated the women and captured the children. This caused mass desertion of the villages. Shamsher Khan, the *subadar*, constructed a fort in *qasba* San to protect the settled inhabitants of the *mauzas*.[83]

There are numerous examples of tribal bands robbing and harassing the sedentary *raiyat*. The Pahwars looted the *raiyat* of *pargana* Gahan; the Sameja Unars destroyed *pargana* Khitta; the Nahmardis looted *parganas* Bobkan and San; the Samejas and the Chandyas plundered the *parganas* of Baghbanan, Gahan, Patar and Akbarabad in 1626–27. Ahmad Beg, the *subadar*, in 1627 ordered the *raiyat* of *pargana* San to construct a strong fortress for their defence in the *qasba* (town).[84]

The main occupation of the Chandyas, Kehars and Nakmaras was plundering and stealing. When the soldiers posted in the *thanas* of *mauzas* of Jaisarat and Adarbeli of *pargana* San for their protection, went to collect their *khurak* (meal) from the *pargana*, these tribes attacked the *raiyat*. The Sameja Dils of Nasarpur plundered the cattle of *mauza* Pali Sama of *pargana* Samwati. Shamsher Khan, the *subadar* pursued them, killed many and brought back the *raiyat*'s cattle.[85] Rahman Quli in *pargana* San killed 200 Nahmardis when they plundered the cattle of the *pargana*.[86]

We get reports of robbing and harassment of the traders by the tribes on land routes as well as on the river Indus. The Sameja Unars pillaged the boats of Thatta traders. Shamsher Khan, the governor, subdued them, recovered the looted goods and camels, and returned these to the traders. Abul Baqa sent melons to Shamsher Khan and Muzaffar Khan, *bakhshi* of Thatta, through a servant named Muhabbat in a boat. When this boat with melons reached *mauza* Khasai Shora, Daud Shora's Hosras killed Muhabbat and passed on these melons to Daud Shora. On receiving this information, Abul Baqa led a compaign against Daud Shora, who with his followers fled to the hills. The imperial forces burnt and destroyed village Khasai Shora.

Some merchants with 1,000 camels were going from Thatta to Bhakkar; when they neared the town of Halakandi, the Samejas, despite their promise to let them pass safely, plundered the merchants.[87] Scrievener, an

[83] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 75, 214, 217.
[84] Ibid., pp. 162–64.
[85] Ibid., pp. 34, 36, 87, 88, 96, 228.
[86] Ibid., p. 96.
[87] Ibid., pp. 129–30. English Factory Records also mention that between Sehwan and San till Halakandi, the recalcitrant Samejas caused trouble for the traders, *The English Factories in India, 1637–41*, ed. W. Foster, Oxford, 1906–27, p. 137.

English factor, in 1656, requested the imperial authorities to establish *chaukis* for safe passage of the boats.[88] *Mauza* Kahi of *pargana* Sehwan was in the Lakhi hills. The hilly tribes and the Samejas used to plunder the passengers there as well.

The Mallah Hosras, in league with the Samejas, indulged in criminal activities on the river Indus. One hundred Mallah Hosras were captured alive and hanged near *qasba* Lakot. To establish law and order, Shamsher Khan, the governor, led extensive campaigns against the Samejas. Thousands of Samejas, including many *sardars*, were captured and killed. Two famous Sameja leaders, Duni Pisa and Taiyab, were also assassinated.[89]

The confrontation was further aggravated when the tribes were coerced to give their women in fine.[90] Yusuf Mirak says that some of the Sameja Unars who had become *raiyati* retaliated when their daughters were forcibly taken into marriage by the Arghuns and the Tarkhans by attacking the boat of Mirza Baqi and killing his wife Rahya Begum.[91] Jan Nisar Khan, the governor of Siwistan, established control over the Samejas and the Sodhas by marrying their daughters, but immediately after his death in 1638, the Samejas and the Sodhas took back their daughters by force.[92]

Methods adopted by the State to deal with the tribes

The methods adopted by the Mughal State to deal with the tribes were persuasive as well as repressive. The tribes were given agrarian concessions: though most of the region was very fertile, the land revenue was realised at a low rate, varying from half to one-fifth. In *pargana* Lakot, one-third land revenue was realised from the Lakas and it was further reduced to one-fourth. The Baloch Nut, who were settled outside *mauza* Lakalvi of *pargana* San, were sanctioned concession in land revenue. To safeguard the Saiyids and other inhabitants of *mauza* Lakalvi from the Sameja Unars and other hill tribes, the Lakhi hill passage was put under the surveillance of the Baloch Nut. In lieu of this service, they were exempted from payment of one more portion of the land revenue. Concessions on land revenue were also given to the settled *raiyat* so that they tilled the soil in spite of constant threat from the seditious tribes. As the *raiyat* of

[88] For Scrievener's letter, see A. Duarte, *A History of British Relations with Sind*, p. 32.
[89] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 44–45, 132.
[90] Ibid., p. 231; when Baba Ahmad, a noble of Mirza Shah Hasan (1520–21), defeated the Machis, the latter gave their daughter with *peshkash* to the Mirza; Masumi, *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p. 145.
[91] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 90.
[92] Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat ul Khwanin*, ed., S. Moinul Haq, Karachi, 1974, Vol. III, p. 106; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasir ul Umara* (1742–47), ed. Maulvi Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 527–29.

mauza Kahi of *pargana* Sehwan fled to Bhakkar owing to the depredations of tribes like the Nahmardis, the *raiyat* were persuaded to come back to the *mauza* with a promise of realising from them as little as one-thirtieth of the land revenue.[93]

The state authorities also assigned *jagirs*, *mansabs* and *inam jagirs* to the tribes to persuade them to desist from seditious activities. Some *mauzas*, probably of *pargana* Sehwan, were assigned in *jagir* to the Samejas, Nahmardis and Chandyas by Dindar Khan, the governor of Sind. Further, Dindar Khan is known to have assigned a few *mauzas* pertaining to the *parganas* of Khitta, Lakot and San in *jagir* to the Sameja Unars. The Baloch Nohanis were given *mauza* Tiri of *pargana* Bobkan in *jagir*. Some of them were even recognised as *bhumias* in the *pargana* of Bobkan. To use the service of the Pahwars against the Baloch Mangsis, Mirza Ghazi, governor of Sind, granted *pargana* Gahan in *tankhwah jagir* to Pahwar chief Manak, who appears to have maintained 150 *sawars*.[94]

Shamsher Khan, the governor of Sind (1613–15), granted the *hasil* of Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 in *jagir* to the Nahmardi *sardar* Murid. He was also allowed to build a fort in *mauza* Nar and to stay there with his forces. Some Nahmardi *sardars* were persuaded to join the Mughal service by the *jagirdar* of Sehwan. They were granted very small *mansabs* and *tankhwah jagirs* in *parganas* San and Chakarhala. Yusuf Mirak says that they relished the taste of *mansab* and this prompted them to compel many *ahsham* (retainers) of the hill regions to surrender to the state. They were employed by the state and *salana* (annual pay) was fixed.[95]

To win the goodwill of the local tribes, that is, the Nakmaras and the Kehars, Akbar granted *mansabs* to their chiefs. However, awarding the *mansabs* and *jagirs* to the chiefs did not necessarily deter the rest of the tribe from recalcitrant activities. The Nahmardis refused to follow their chief Murid, and continued to plunder the *raiyat* of *pargana* Gahan and Bobkan, and fled towards Kacchi with numerous cattle of the *raiyat*. People wanted Murid to be made prisoner, but Shamsher Khan sent him to his *jagir*. When peace was restored, Murid rejoined Shamsher Khan.[96] This was obviously a move calculated to make the Nahmardis sedentary.

The imperial authorities did not want to antagonise these tribes. Sher Khwaja, the governor of Thatta, asked a *jagirdar* of *parganas* Khitta and Lakot not to annoy the Samejas and the Chandyas. When Arabi from the Sameja Rahuja tribe, who was a thief and plunderer of the traders, killed a brother of Shaikhu Beg, the latter avenged the murder with the assassination of Arabi. Dindar Khan, the governor, to please the Samejas,

[93] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 204, 207, 214–15, 217, 219, 225, 226, 229.
[94] Ibid., pp. 79, 134, 136, 165, 221, 234.
[95] Ibid., pp. 137, 238.
[96] Ibid., pp. 34, 137–38.

imprisoned Shaikhu Beg and wanted to kill him. Though Shaikhu Beg's life was spared he was dismissed from service. Yusuf Mirak remarks that the welfare work of Dindar Khan among the tribes won him their affection. The *zamindars* of *pargana* Sehwan and Juneja established cordial relations with the Samejas to avoid trouble in their *zamindaris*.[97] Besides *jagirs*, *inam* land was also given to the tribes. The Nahmardis, who were in the hills of *parganas* San and Sehwan, were given *inam jagirs* in the hill tracts of *sarkar* Chakarhala. *Inam jagirs* were also given to the Baloch Nut in *mauza* Lakalvi of *pargana* Sehwan.[98]

The Saiyids, a venerated religious class, played a significant role between the State and the tribes. When Saiful Mulk attacked the Sameja Unars of *pargana* San in 1625, the latter made peace through the mediation of the *sadat*.[99] Earlier, in a confrontation between the Langahs and Shah Husain, Shaikh Ismail Qureshi tried to play the role of a mediator to establish peace. Though he failed, he was rewarded with the grant of a village near Thatta in *suyurghal* (revenue-and-cash-grants).[100] Since the Saiyids established and ran the shrines which attracted the members of the tribes, they became an effective instrument of the State for making these tribes sedentary, and making them follow the state *zawabit* (regulations). In the hills between Thatta and *pargana* San, there were *nazargahs* (tombs of holy men) of Hazrat Khwaja Uwais Karani and his mother. On the day of Haj, the *ulema* as well as the hill tribes congregated here.[101] Among the shrines venerated by the local people were a *mazār* of Hazrat Pir Topan[102] in the town of San, the shrine of saint Lal Shahbaz in Sehwan,[103] a *mazār* of Hazrat Harun in the hill skirts of *mauza* Lakalvi of *pargana* Sehwan[104] and a tomb of Maulana Makhdum Abdul Aziz in Gahan.[105]

The Saiyids were treated favourably, assigned *jagirs* and *aima* grants, and given rights of *arbab*. Dindar Khan, the governor, assigned *mauza* Amri in *jagir* to Saiyid Yusuf and the *arbab* of San and *mauza* Thatti Wali Muhammad in *jagir* to Saiyid Hasan. Saiyid Jalal was given *mauza* Kahi (*pargana* San) in *jagir*. Land revenue was also charged from them at low rates of one-third and one-fourth of the produce.

The influence enjoyed by the Saiyids among the tribes is shown by the fact that when Saiyid Yusuf and Saiyid Jung, *jagirdars* of *pargana* San, were annoyed with the state officials, they used their hold over the Nahmardis and the Samejas respectively to force Dindar Khan, the governor,

[97] Ibid., pp. 167, 197.
[98] Ibid., pp. 50, 88, 217, 238.
[99] Ibid., p. 153.
[100] Masumi, *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p. 157. The English translation is misleading.
[101] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 228–29.
[102] Ibid., p. 167.
[103] *Qalandar Lal Shahbaz*, Department of Public Relations, Sind, p. 13.
[104] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 227.
[105] Masumi, *Tarikh-i-Sind*, pp. 76–77.

to submit to their terms. Dindar Khan ultimately propitiated them with the grant of *inam* and restoration of their *jagirs*.[106]

One finds a large number of *aima* (land grants) and a variety of *madad-i-ma'ash* grants in Sind. Yusuf Mirak, who had also *aima* grant in Sehwan, has enumerated four kinds of *madad i ma'ash* grants. *Madad-i-ma'ash* grants were given even to the *arbabs* and *zamindars* with a view to keeping them engaged in the affairs of cultivation despite the constant threat from the seditious tribes.[107] In the vicinity of Manchar Lake, many Saiyids had acquired *madad-i-ma'ash* grants from emperors Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. They had established shrines there and many tribes had become their *murids*.[108] The items offered to the shrine of Shaikh Muhammad Makki in the vicinity of Thatta such as horses, cattle, grain and ghee suggest that the pastoral tribes were followers.[109] The *sadaat* cemented their relationship with the tribes by contracting matrimonial alliances with them.

The semi-sedentary tribes were not opposed to matrimonial alliances with the ruling families as such. Thus the Samejas who were dispersed over a large tract of Sind gave their women in marriage to the Arghun rulers. Abul Qasim Arghun was related to the Sameja Unars of *sarkar* Nasarpur and many of them were in the military service of Abul Qasim.[110] He also married the daughters of the Sodha and Sumra chiefs.[111] Many *zamindars* of Sehwan contracted matrimonial alliance with the Semejas to cement the bond of friendship.[112] Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan married a niece of Sodha Rana Meghraj.[113] Amir Qasim Beglar married a daughter of Wirsi, the Sodha chief of Umarkot.[114]

Extensive military operations were carried out against the recalcitrant tribes. In these operations, numerous tribals were killed or made prisoners.

[106] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 164, 221, 224, 225. *Mauza* Kahi was renamed Kamalpura, ibid., p. 224.
[107] Ibid., pp. 41–42. Emperors Akbar and Jahangir were not in favour of granting *madad-i-ma'ash* to the *arbabs* and *zamindars*, but it seems that the *jagirdars* in their own interest had to grant *madad-i-ma'ash* to this class.
[108] *Papers Relating to the Indebtedness of the Zamindars of the Manchar Lake in Sind*, Madras, 1374, *I.O.L.*, pp. 120–21.
[109] Abul Baqa's *parwana* to the *mustasaddis* with regard to the *dargah* of Shaikh Muhammad Makki, 1644, reproduced in the *Tazkira-i Amirkhani*, ed. S. Husamuddin Rashidi, Karachi, 1961.
[110] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 116; when six Sameja Unar *sardars* were arrested by the imperial forces, Abul Qasim stood surety of 24,000 *Laris* and got them released, p. 94. He also sent his sons Jindai and Fatehi with the Samejas and the Sodhas to attack the *qila* Jahangirabad, pp. 117–18, 120.
[111] *Zakhirat al Khwanin*, Vol. II, p. 28.
[112] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 197.
[113] *Zakhirat al Khwanin*, Vol. II, p. 317.
[114] *Beglarnama*, ff. 34–5, quoted by A. Zahid Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

Rai Singh, the *jagirdar* of *pargana* Khitta, led a military campaign against the Dahiris, and killed 30 of them.[115] In Abul Baqa's operation, 1,200 Sameja Unars were killed in the fort of Sadgar. In his subsequent raids, 500 Sameja Unars were assassinated at village Derawan in the Thar desert of Jaisalmer.[116] Yusuf Mirak has recorded the killing of 200 Mangwanis in the *mauza* of Halakandi by the imperial forces. In one of the raids, Shamsher Khan, the governor, killed 1,000 Samejas and made 700, including many *sardars* prisoners. In the subsequent raids, Shamsher Khan's contingent killed 50 to 60 Samejas every day. Sher Khwaja made Bodilà, an important Sameja *sardar*, prisoner. The Samejas did not indulge in plundering for the next 2 to 3 years. When the Nahmardis captured and carried off the cattle of *pargana* San, Rahman Quli killed 200 Nahmardis.[117] Malik Husain, a Mughal official during prince Aurangzeb's governorship of Thatta, captured 40 Nahmardis along with one of their daughters.[118] The tribals who were made prisoners were sometimes sold. In 1622, Sher Khwaja, the governor of Thatta, and Muhammad Ali Beg Bhakkari captured many Samejas and sold them to the Afghans of Siwi.[119]

The nomadic and semi-sedentary tribes fought the imperial forces bravely: they were well acquainted with the geography of the region and were good archers. On many occasions, the tribes prevailed over the imperial armed forces and compelled them to flee. This happened when Taimur Beg led a campaign against the Samejas, but was forced by them to take shelter in the fort of Vaijhra which was also surrounded by the tribe. Khwaja Nuruddin, however, intervened and saved the imperial contingent from massacre. When the Nahmardis plundered and murdered the *raiyat* of *mauza* Kachi of *pargana* Sehwan, Badshah Khwaja chased them but realised that without using guns (*banduqs*), it would be difficult to overcome them because they were efficient archers. The Nahmardis had also *tufang* (muskets) to fight with the Mughal forces.[120]

To control the tribes, forts and *thanas* with strong military contingents were established. To defend the town of San from the Nahmardis, Ahmad Beg asked the *raiyat* to construct a fort. In village Kajira, a *qila* was constructed and a *thana* with 150 *barqandazs* was established. To keep the Baloch Nohanis in control, *qila* Ahmad Beg Khan at Chashma *nek* in *pargana* Bobkan was repaired and 20 cavalry men and 10 *barqandazs* were posted there. Abul Baqa repaired the fort of Vaijhra to control the

[115] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, p. 78.

[116] Ibid., p. 119; 200 Sameja Unars were killed by the imperial forces, p. 120.

[117] Ibid., pp. 96, 127–28, 132, 196–97, 232–33; Shamsher Khan captured 100 Mallah Hosras and hanged them. Abul Baqa killed many Chandyas and Sameja Teebas, pp. 123–24; Shaikh Mustafa killed 30 or 40 Nahmardis, p. 152.

[118] *Adab i Alamgiri*, Vol. I, p. 26.

[119] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 148, 196–97.

[120] Ibid., pp. 106, 109, 117, 125, 126, 139, 140, 148–49, 151, 153–54.

recalcitrant Sameja Unars.[121] Gorya Hindu, the *jagirdar* of *pargana* Gahan, constructed a fortress and posted a strong armed force to chastise the turbulent Chandyas, Nahmardis and Samejas.[122] The sedentary and *raiyati* Sahtas built Karank fort to defend themselves from the Samejas. On the request of the sedentary Lakas, Abul Baqa built a fort Jahangirabad at village Kajran in the Thar desert. He also established a *thana* and appointed Fateh Ali *thanadar*. Shamsher Khan, the governor of Thatta, established many *thanas* on the border areas of Sind.[123]

Sometimes a co-ordinated operation was carried out to deal with tribes. Thus the officials of Thatta, Bhakkar and the Bhati chiefs of Jaisalmer joined hands to subjugate the Samejas. The chiefs of Jaisalmer were quite concerned because the Samejas used to take shelter in the sand dunes of Jaisalmer, and plundered traders passing through their territory; the major source of income of the Jaisalmer chiefs was from looting traders. It was announced by the imperial forces that the women and property of the recalcitrant Samejas would be equally distributed among the soldiers and the *raiyat*. After this, many Samejas were killed, their women and children were made prisoners and their cattle were plundered.[124]

The Rawal of Jaisalmer from one side and the imperial forces from the other surrounded the Samejas and even their food supply was cut off, consequently many Samejas were killed and a number of them taken prisoners. It appears that Abul Baqa, the governor, also wanted to cut the supply line of the Nahmardis in the interior hill region. He tried unsuccessfully to prohibit the traders from visiting the tribal settlements, arguing that camels were available from the Jats, horses from Keech and Qandhar, and meat from goats and hens available in Sind.[125]

It appears that to keep the tribes subdued, their *sardars* were detained as hostages. When Abul Baqa made Koria Teeba prisoner and brought him to Sehwan from *pargana* Baghbanan, his followers—the Sameja Teebas and the Chandyas—ceased to plunder the region and gave *malguzari*. Similarly, when Bodla, an important *sardar* of the Samejas, was detained by the imperial authorities, the Samejas did not indulge in robbing for the next 2 to 3 years.[126]

[121] Ibid., pp. 39–40, 163, 200–1, 222. The fort Vaijhra was erected by Pir Ghulam. He also built a fort in *mauza* Daya of *pargana* Sehwan and established *thanas*.

[122] Ibid., pp. 232–33. Gorya Hindu posted 300 *sawars*, 2 to 3 thousand *barqandazan* and *tirandazan*.

[123] Ibid., pp. 119, 122, 197–200.

[124] Ibid., pp. 107, 118–19, 125–26, 143, 195, 197–200, 231.

[125] Ibid., pp. 239–40; in fact business transaction with the tribes was much more beneficial to the traders in comparison to that with the town markets. In the tribal settlement there would be less competition.

[126] Ibid., pp. 124, 196–97; similarly, Pahwar *sardars* were imprisoned in *pargana* Gahan, pp. 232–33; the British government also put a condition on the release of 21 tribals if the *sardars* of that tribe would come personally. See Col. R. Phayre, Political Superintendent, Frontier Upper Sind to Col. W.L. Merewether, Commissioner in Sind, Feb. 1869, p. 6.

The imperial authorities also used one tribe against the other. In *pargana* Lakot, the enmity between the Samejas and the Lakas was exploited by the *jagirdars* of the *pargana*.[127] Similarly, the Baloch Nohanis were used by the imperial authorities against the Nahmardis.[128]

Many tribes of Sind failed to establish monarchies owing to their nomadic pastoral habits. The ecology of the region, particularly in and around the east Nara-Indus Doab region, which provided them the basic needs of their survival, played a role in this. However, the area around the coast of Indus, owing the inundation in the rainy season, and the region of Thar desert and part of Thatta and Chachgan *sarkars* which comprise plains, were fit for permanent settlement, and tribes like the Sumras, Samas and Sodhas were able to establish political authority and set up monarchies.

Constant struggle between the State and the tribes not only caused a heavy toll of lives and stock, but in the long run, caused a setback to the economy of Sind. It appears that the *hasil* of Thatta *suba* shrank from 9,28,00,000 *dāms* to 6,88,16,800 *dāms* between the period 1638 and 1709.[129] By the nineteenth century, many *zamindars* of Sind[130] were in debt to the moneylenders.[131] However, some of the pastoral tribes gradually became cultivators in part or in full and the rent paid in the form of animal herds combined with grain indicates, both the surplus the tribes had, and the dual economy, pastoral as well as agrarian, of the region.

[127] *Mazhar-i-Shahjahani*, Vol. II, pp. 74, 80, 115, 196.

[128] Ibid., pp. 97, 135–36.

[129] *The Agrarian System of the Mughal India*, p. 404.

[130] *Papers Relating to the Indebtedness of the Zamindars of the Manchar Lake in Sind*, Madras, 1874, No. V/27/313/44, I.O.L., London.

[131] David Cheeseman, 'The Omnipresent Bania: Rural Moneylenders in Nineteenth Century Sind', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 16, 1982, pp. 445–62.